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PAGE 01 MONTEV 01515 081232Z

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SUBJ: EL PAIS AGAIN COMMENTS ON THE U.S. AND VIETNAM

REF: A) STATE 86289; B) MVD 3180; C) MVD 1266; D) MVD 1495

1. IN AMAY 7 EDITORIAL ENTITLED "WHY VIETNAM", EL PAIS SAID, "WE ASK OURSELVES THIS QUESTION NOW, AS ALL THAT IS LEFT OF THE FREE WORLD ASKS IT, USING THE TITLE OF A WHITE HOUSE PUBLICATION THAT EXPLAINED THE REASONS FOR U.S. ACTIONS IN THAT PART OF ASIA. AND WE ASK IT CONTRASTING WHAT WAS SAID AND PROMISED THEN WITH THE DEFEAT, WITHDRAWAL, AND THE ABANDONMENT OF TODAY." IN A HARSHLY WRITTEN PARAGRAPH, THE EDITORIAL DESCRIBED "THE HELL OF COMMUNISM" AND ADDED BITTERLY, "BUT FOR THESE CRIMES THERE HAS BEEN NO RUSSELL TRIBUNAL, NO INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS, NO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, NO CATHOLIC INFORMATION..."

2. EL PAIS REPEATED VARIOUS STATEMENTS ON VIETNAM MADE BY PRESIDENTS EISENHOWER AND KENNEDY, AND COMMENTED, "THE

SAYINGS NOTED HERE AND DOZENS MORE THAT WE OMITTED ARE NO LONGER TRUE; THE FOREIGN POLICY OF KISSINGER HAS CONVERTED THEM INTO A FRAUD, INTO A GREAT LIE. THE U.S. WILL SOON COMPLETE ITS 200TH YEAR IN THE MIDST OF THE UNCERTAINTY

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PAGE 02 MONTEV 01515 081232Z

CAUSED BY ITS GREATEST DEFEAT, FOR WHAT IT LOST MILITARILY

ANDPOLITICALLY IN ASIA, FOR WHAT MORE IT WILL SURELY LOSE IN THIS AREA IF THE SITUATION CONTINUES, AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE THAT IT HAS LOST BECAUSE IT HAS STOPPED INSPIRING FAITH IN ITSELF. EVIDENTLY, AT THIS TIME THE U.S. IS NOT LIVING UP TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH ITS POSITION IN THE FREE WORLD REQUIRE." THE EDITORIAL CONTINUED, "WHY VIETNAM IN 1975? IT CANNOT BE SAID THAT THE DEFEAT WAS CAUSED BY LACK OF RESOURCES OR KNOW-HOW. WHAT HAPPENED IS THAT THESE THINGS WERE NOT EMPLOYED OUT OF FEAR, OUT OF TIMIDITY BEFORE AN ENEMY THAT RECOGNIZES NO MATERIAL OR MORAL LIMITS..."

3. EL PAIS COINED THE TERM "NEO-MUNICH-ISM" TO DESCRIBE THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U.S. SINCE WORLD WAR II, AND THEN NOTED THAT THE U.S., "WHICH CALLED ITSELF THE GREAT DEMOCRACY OF THE NORTH," HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN FOUR WARS DURING THIS CENTURY. "IN KOREA LITTLE WAS GAINED AND MUCH MORE WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED; IN VIETNAM THERE HAS BEEN A CRUSHING AND COSTLY DEFEAT. WHERE DOES THIS WEAKNESS COME FROM IF, AS ITS INTELLIGENTSIA TELLS US, THE PARALLEL WITH THE DECLINE OF ROME IS NOT VALID?....THE CRISIS COMES, MORE THAN ANYTHING, FROM A LACK OF FAITH IN THAT WHICH THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR...IT WOULD SEEM THAT IN THE EASTERNWORLD THE BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY IS WEAKENING, AND THIS PRESAGES THE VICTORY OF COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM. THE CASE OF THE U.S. IS MORE SERIOUS THAN THAT OF THE OTHER DEMOCRACIES BECAUSE OF THAT POWER'S IMPORTANCE.

4. THE EDITORIAL ADDED, "IN REALITY, THE MILITANT LIBERALISM OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE U.S, WHICH EXISTED UP TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR, HAS BEEN REPLACED BY AN IMBECILIC (IN THE SENSE OF FEEBLE) LIBERALISM THAT BELIEVES IN NOT BELIEVING, IN DOUBT; A FEEBLE LIBERALISM THAT FROM THE CAMPUS INVADDED THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AND DISPLACED THE ORIGINAL CONCEPTION OF A STRONG EXECUTIVE WITH A CONGRESS WHICH IS MORE CONCERNED WITH ITS ELECTORAL FORTUNES THAN WITH THE NATIONAL FUTURE...."

5. ANOTHER ITEM ON THE EDITORIAL PAGE OF EL PAIS SAID, "THE AFTER EFFECTS OF THE AVALANCHE OF COMMUNISM IN VIET-
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PAGE 03 MONTEV 01515 081232Z

NAM AND CAMBODIA ARE ON THE WAY TO BEING AS HARMFUL TO THE FREE WORLD AS THE ACTUAL EVENTS." AFTER QUOTING RECENT STATEMENTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT FIGURES IN THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES, EL PAIS ADDED, "ALL OF THIS REVEALS A LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE LOYALTY OF THE U.S. TOWARD ITS ALLIES, AND A TENDENCY ON THEIR PART TO TEMPORIZE WITH VICTORIOUS COMMUNISM...."

6. A THIRD ITEM ON THE SAME EDITORIAL PAGE WAS HARRY BRANDON'S ARTICLE ON THE U.S. AFTER VIETNAM, WHICH EL PAIS TRANSLATED FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, AND THE THEME OF WHICH IS THAT AMERICAN POWER REMAINS INTACT.

7. COMMENT: THE EDITORIAL IS THE STRONGEST PRESS ATTACKS YET ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. IT PURPORTS TO EXPLAIN THE U.S. EXPERIENCE USING THEMES WHICH ARE POPULAR WITHIN THE GOU: THE IMPORTANCE OF TAKING A STRONG STANDD AGAINST COMMUNISM, THE NECESSITY FOR A STRONG EXECUTIVE, AND THE DIVISIVENESS OF DISSENT.
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